

Message Text

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PAGE 01 WARSAW 02510 121543Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----121546Z 038206 /45
O 121436Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7536

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 2510

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CVIS PL US
SUBJ: US-POLISH RELATIONS: THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND POLAND

REF: (A) WARSAW 2306, (B) WARSAW 2319, (C) WARSAW 2447, (D)
WARSAW 2489

1. I HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING WHAT ATTITUDE WE SHOULD TAKE IN THE
FORTHCOMING TALKS WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER ROMUALD SPASOWSKI
(APRIL 28-29).

2. OUR VIEW IN THIS EMBASSY IS THAT THE GIEREK REGIME IS
RELATIVELY "LIBERAL", BY COMPARISON WITH THE OTHER EASTERN
EUROPEAN LEADERSHIPS. (I USE THE QUOTATION MARKS TO DENOTE THE
RELATIVE NATURE OF THIS CONCEPT WHEN APPLIED TO COMMUNIST
REGIMES, WHICH, BY THEIR NATURE, EXERCISE AN ABSOLUTE AND AUTH-
ORITARIAN MONOPOLY OF POLITICAL POWER.) IT IS IN THE U.S.
INTEREST TO ENCOURAGE GIEREK AND CO. TO BECOME MORE "LIBERAL,"
OR, AT LEAST, NOT TO REGRESS, AS GOMULKA DID BEGINNING IN 1966.

3. WE THINK ONE IMPORTANT WAY IN WHICH WE SHOULD DO THIS IS BY
ENCOURAGING THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE BETWEEN THE TWO
COUNTRIES. FRELEK'S (REF A) IS ONLY THE MOST RECENT IN A SERIES
OF DISCREET INQUIRIES BY HIGH POLISH OFFICIALS AS TO WHETHER
THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE \$2-
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BILLION TRADE-TURNOVER GOAL AGREED TO BY PRESIDENT FORD AND FIRST
SECRETARY GIEREK IN 1974. WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD REAFFIRM OUR
READINESS TO WORK IN THAT DIRECTION AND CONSEQUENTLY HAVE
RECOMMENDED THE ATTENDANCE AT THE MAY 23-24 WARSAW MEETING OF
THE US-POLISH ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF A USG OFFICIAL OF ASSISTANT-
SECRETARY LEVEL (REF C). IF THIS RECOMMENDATION IS APPROVED,
WE WOULD SUGGEST LANGUAGE THAT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED IN PHRASING

THE STATEMENT TO BE MADE. (IN A RECENT LETTER, DR. EDWARD T. WILSON, OF THE US-POLISH COUNCIL'S WASHINGTON OFFICE, WRITES THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE JASINOWSKI MAY COME. WE WOULD WELCOME THIS.)

4. IF CONTINUING GROWTH IN TRADE CONSTITUTES A CARROT, WE NEED ADDITIONALLY TO FIND SOME IMPETUS TO GET THE POLISH REGIME OFF DEAD CENTER ON THE DIVIDED-FAMILIES ISSUE. A POSITION WHICH CARRIES WITH IT SOME RISK OF US-POLISH FRICTION AT BELGRADE. NOT ONLY ARE WE MAKING NO PROGRESS ON THIS ISSUE, DESPITE ALL THE JAWBONING WE HAVE DEVOTED TO IT OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS, WE APPEAR TO BE FALLING EVEN FURTHER BEHIND. IN FY 1976, THE TOTAL NUMBER OF POLES WHO RECEIVED U.S. IMMIGRATION VISAS WAS 1,217, THE LOWEST FIGURE IN 19 YEARS, I.E., SINCE FY 1957, WHEN THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TENTATIVELY BEGAN TO PERMIT EMIGRATION AGAIN, AFTER THE "POLISH OCTOBER" AND THE END OF STALINISM. ACCORDING TO OUR CURRENT PROJECTION, THE TOTAL FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1977, MAY BE AS HIGH AS 1,738. BUT THE ANNUAL TOTAL OF NEW PETITIONS RECEIVED FROM THE U.S. FOR RELATIVES IN POLAND CONTINUES TO EXCEED BY SEVERAL THOUSAND THE ANNUAL RATE OF ISSUANCE OF IMMIGRATION VISAS. THE BOTTLENECK, OF COURSE, IS THE INABILITY OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN POLAND TO OBTAIN EMIGRATION PASSPORTS FROM THE POLISH AUTHORITIES. PZPR-CC SECRETARY FRELEK HAS INDICATED THAT THIS SITUATION IS NOT LIKELY TO CHANGE (REF B).

5. THE TWO THINGS THE POLISH REGIME NOW WANTS FROM US, IT APPEARS, ARE, FIRST, A GENERAL STATEMENT OF OUR INTENTION TO CONTINUE TO DEVELOP GOOD US-POLISH RELATIONS, ALONG THE LINES OF STATEMENTS MADE DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS, AND, SECOND, REAFFIRMATION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE \$2-BILLION 1980 TRADE-TURNOVER GOAL. IF WE ARE PREPARED TO DO THE SECOND, WE SHOULD CONSIDER WITHHOLDING THE FIRST, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT WE ARE NOT READY TO ISSUE THAT KIND OF BLANK CHECK. ON THE CONTRARY, WE SHOULD INTIMATE -- WITHOUT OFFICIALLY PUTTING IT INTO SO MANY WORDS -- THAT THE ATTITUDE WE TAKE TOWARDS OUR RELATIONS WITH POLAND DEPENDS UPON THE ATTITUDE OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THINGS IN WHICH WE ARE INTERESTED. FIRST AND FOREMOST, WE ARE INTERESTED IN SOME MOVEMENT IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION ON DIVIDED FAMILIES. WE ARE NOT DEMANDING THE SIMULTANEOUS RESOLUTION OF THE CASES OF ALL OF THE APPROXIMATELY 2,800 RELATIVES OF U.S. CITIZENS AND RESIDENT ALIENS, ABOUT WHOM WE HAVE MADE REPRESENTATIONS TO THE POLISH FOREIGN MINISTRY SINCE JANUARY 2, 1974. WE DO WANT TO SEE MOVEMENT UPWARD ON THE GRAPH AND WE WANT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES TO SET FOR THEMSELVES THE GOAL OF ISSUING EMIGRATION PASSPORTS AT AN ANNUAL RATE CLOSER TO THAT OF 1958-66 THAN THAT OF 1966-76, I.E., AN ANNUAL RATE THAT GIVES SOME PROMISE OF ACHIEVING A BALANCE BETWEEN THE ISSUANCE OF EMIGRATION PASSPORTS AND THE RECEIPT OF NEW IMMIGRATION-VISA PETITIONS.

6. I STRESS THAT WE SHOULD NOT SPELL OUT IN SPECIFIC TERMS WHAT WE MAY OR MAY NOT DO. IN THE FIRST PLACE, I HAVE AT THE MOMENT NO CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS. IN THE SECOND, THE ESSENCE OF THE GAME SHOULD BE TO KEEP THE POLISH LEADERSHIP A LITTLE OFF BALANCE. WE SHOULD, HOWEVER, ANTICIPATE THAT THE POLES ARE GOING TO BE ASKING US FOR THINGS IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD, JUST AS THEY HAVE IN THE PAST. WE WILL NEED TO CONSIDER IN THE CASE OF EACH REQUEST PRECISELY HOW WE WILL RESPOND. AMONG THE FACTORS CONDITIONING OUR RESPONSE SHOULD BE THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION IN WHICH DIRECTION THE CURVE ON EMIGRATION-PASSPORT ISSUANCE IS MOVING.

7. LIKE OTHER REGIMES OF THIS TYPE, THE POLISH LEADERSHIP ATTEMPTS TO CREATE FOR ITSELF THE ROLE OF A DEMANDEUR, POSING PUTATIVELY QUITE REASONABLE AND LEGITIMATE REQUESTS. WHEN THE PARTY ACROSS THE TABLE, IN THIS CASE, THE U.S., DOES NOT RESPOND
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POSITIVELY TO THE DEMAND, THE DEMANDEUR IS IN A POSITION TO EXPRESS HIS REGRET THAT "YOU HAVE NOT PROPERLY UNDERSTOOD THE IMPORTANCE OF WHAT I HAVE BEEN ASKING YOU TO DO." I SEE NO REASON WHY WE SHOULD PLAY THIS GAME ON THE TERMS SET BY THE POLISH LEADERSHIP. ON THE CONTRARY, I THINK WE CAN MORE JUSTIFIABLY ADOPT THE ROLE OF DEMANDEUR, BY ASKING THE POLISH REGIME WHETHER THEY ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE THE DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT OF US-POLISH RELATIONS WHICH HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE DURING THE PAST SIX YEARS. IF SO, WE ARE OF COURSE PREPARED TO MATCH THEM STEP FOR STEP. WE SHOULD BE GIVING THEM TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE BALL IS IN THEIR COURT, IT IS THE DIVIDED-FAMILIES ISSUE, AND, UNTIL THEY PLAY IT CORRECTLY, THE GAME WILL BE AT A STANDSTILL SO FAR AS OUR READINESS TO CONSIDER NEW POLISH REQUESTS IS CONCERNED.

8. FOREIGN MINISTER EMIL WOJTASZEK HAS ACCEPTED AN INVITATION TO DINNER AT MY RESIDENCE APRIL 18. IF THE DEPARTMENT APPROVES, I WOULD DELIVER A TOAST EMBODYING THE APPROACH LAID OUT ABOVE, IN ANTICIPATION OF VICE MINISTER SPASOWSKI'S APRIL 28-29 VISIT TO WASHINGTON. THE TEXT IS TRANSMITTED IN THE NEXT FOLLOWING MESSAGE. I WOULD SEND IT AS A COURTESY TO THE MINISTER ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 18, SO THAT HE WILL HAVE TIME TO STUDY IT AND FRAME HIS RESPONSE. IF THIS IS TO BE DONE, I NEED THE DEPARTMENT'S REACTION BEFORE OOB WARSAW APRIL 18, I.E., 07:00Z.
DAVIES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, FOREIGN TRADE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 12-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977WARSAW02510
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770126-0883
Format: TEL
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770464/aaaacdhm.tel
Line Count: 164
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 526b35a6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 WARSAW 2306, 77 WARSAW 2319, 77 WARSAW 2447
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2826890
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: US-POLISH RELATIONS: THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND POLAND
TAGS: PFOR, CVIS, PL, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/526b35a6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009